

Message Text

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CHEROKEE

E.O. 11692: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO MACHEL

REF: STATE 238080

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT MACHEL SAYS HE HAS SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH "CONDITIONS" LAID DOWN BY SMITH, BUT LEFT ME WITH IMPRESSION HE READY TO GIVE NEGOTIATIONS A TRY. HE SAID THAT THE MAIN POINT HE INTENDS STRESS IN MEETING TOMORROW WITH OTHER FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS IS THAT CEASEFIRE MUST STILL BE CONSIDERED A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION. HE BELIEVES ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS WILL ACCEPT US-UK PROPOSAL AND WILL PARTICIPATE IN TALKS IN GOOD FAITH. END SUMMARY.

2. I SAW PRESIDENT MACHEL EARLY THIS EVENING FOR ABOUT FORTY MINUTES. HE LOOKED TIRED, HAVING SPENT MOST OF DAY AT ARMED FORCES DAY CEREMONIES. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RUSH OUR MEETING EVEN THOUGH HE WAS ABOUT TO HOST A DINNER FOR SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS. BERNARDO HONWANA SERVED AS TRANSLATOR; ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PANGUENE WAS PRESENT.

3. MEETING BEGAN WITH HONWANA TRANSLATING PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE. MACHEL LISTENED ATTENTIVELY, ASKED TO HAVE SEVERAL SENTENCES REPEATED. UPON CONCLUSION HE ASKED ME TO THANK PRESIDENT FOR MESSAGE. HE SAID IT WAS TRUE WHAT PRESIDENT WROTE. "ALL OF US ARE ENGAGED IN A SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION FOR THE SAKE OF THE ZIMBABWEANS

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AND ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA." HE NOTED THAT IN 1975

THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT HAD EVEN BEEN PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH VORSTER IN SEARCH FOR PEACE. "WE DO NOT WISH SOUTHERN AFRICA TO BECOME A BATTLEGROUND FOR RACIAL WAR."

4. TURNING TO THE SMITH BROADCAST, MACHEL SAID HE HOPED SMITH WOULD NOT TRY USE NEGOTIATIONS TO GAIN TIME. WHAT BOTHERED MACHEL ABOUT BROADCAST WAS THAT SMITH WAS IMPOSING CONDITIONS. "WHO IS HE, THE HEAD OF AN ILLEGAL GOVERNMENT, TO IMPOSE CONDITIONS?" MACHEL STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF WHEN CEASEFIRE WAS TO GO INTO EFFECT AND WHEN SANCTIONS WERE TO BE LIFTED WERE "MATTERS FOR NEGOTIATION". SO TOO IN MACHEL'S VIEW ARE THE ISSUES OF THE MAKE-UP AND DURATION OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO MACHEL, SMITH SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DICTATE THAT "WHITES" SHALL MAINTAIN CONTROL OF DEFENSE AND POLICE IN AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

5. MACHEL HAS NOT YET HAD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS SMITH'S SPEECH WITH ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS OR WITH FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS, BUT

SAID HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH THEM TOMORROW. MACHEL SAID THE MAIN POINT HE WOULD BE STRESSING AT MEETING TOMORROW WOULD BE THAT A CEASEFIRE MUST BE CONSIDERED A MATTER FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATION.

6. MACHEL ALSO STRESSED THAT IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ALL CONCERNED TO MOVE QUICKLY. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAD STRESSED IN EARLIER MEETING WITH SCHAUFEL, I.E. THAT TWO YEARS WAS FAR TOO LONG A TRANSITION PERIOD BEFORE INDEPENDENCE.

7 WHEN MACHEL QUERIED ME ON SPECIFICS OF WHAT SECRETARY HAD TOLD SMITH AND VORSTER I SAID I DID NOT KNOW. I SAID THAT IN THE EVENT HE WISHED MORE DETAILS OF US-UK PROPOSAL, I WOULD FIND OUT IF IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE FOR SCHAUFEL TO RETURN FOR A SECOND VISIT.

MACHEL SAID HE WOULD WELCOME THIS SINCE HE HAD FOUND FIRST SESSION "VERY USEFUL", AS HE HAD FOUND THE TALKS WITH ROWLAND AND DUFF.

8. MACHEL NOTED THAT ROWLAND AND DUFF HAD REMARKED THAT SANCTIONS AND THE ARMED STRUGGLE WERE TAKING THEIR TOLL IN RHODESIA. FOR THIS, MOZAMBIQUE COULD TAKE THE CREDIT. AT SAME TIME MACHEL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE CURRENT "PROMISING" STAGE OF DEVELOPMENTS HAD
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ALSO BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BECAUSE OF LATENT US-UK DIPLOMATIC EFFORT. "ALL THREE-SANCTIONS, ARMED STRUGGLE AND DIPLOMATIC WORK- HAVE BEEN HELPFUL."

9. MACHEL VOLUNTEERED THAT HE BELIEVED ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS WOULD "ACCEPT US-UK PROPOSAL." THEY HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY ARE READY TO DIE FOR INDEPENDENCE, " WHY SHOULDN'T THEY ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE IF IT CAN BE ACHIEVED PEACEFULLY?"

10 COMNENT: TONE AND TENOR OF MACHEL'S REMARKS, AS WELL AS MOST OF HIS SPECIFIC COMMENTS, WERE ENCOURAGING. WHILE HE DOES NOT ACCEPT SMITH'S "CONDITIONS" HE CONSIDERES THEM TOPICS WHICH CAN BE NEGOTIATED. HE CERTAINLY TALKED AS IF HE IS PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SOME TOUGH NEGOTIATING, NOT AS IF HE HAS DECIDED NOT TO NEGOTIATE. MOST TROUBLESOME ISSUE MAY BE HIS SEMING DETERMINATION THAT THE "WHITES" NOT RETAIN CONTROL OF ARMY AND POLICE DURING INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

11. I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR US TO FOLLOW-UP MY BRIEF

SESSION WITH MACHEL WITH ANOTHER DISCUSSION DEALING WITH AS HE PUT IT "MORE CONCRETE ASPECTS" OF THE PROPOSAL. IF SCHAUFLE IS TO BE IN THE AREA AND COULD SPARE ONE OF TWO DAYS TO FLY TO MAPUTO, MACHEL WOULD WELCOME MEETING.
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